1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nhane ND12

177 place of frequent mobility. Stoves, blankets, candles, and matches became standard household equipment. New and better tools, including the hammer, saw, steel knife, ax, and nail, permitted the construction of the more permanent dwellings and of tables and raised beds of hewed lumber. These tools, plus the drill, also facilitated the construction of the snowshoe, toboggan, and plank boat. The ax became indispensable for cutting wood to use in stoves. Clothing came to be prepared of wool and cotton cloth, superior to moosehide in warmth, and sewing became less tedious through the use of steel needles, cotton thread, and, finally, sewing machines. River travel and transportation was facilitated by the outboard motor, while the overland transportation grew easier when horses were introduced by the gold seekers. Deadfalls were displaced for trapping fur-bearing mammals by spring traps. Native cordage was abandoned in favor of rope and thread. Tanned skin is used largely for moccasins and mittens. The bow and arrow, stone knife, stone points, and lice ceased to be manufactured. Bone and tooth ornaments were replaced by glass and metal jewelry; native face paints by cosmetics. Tattooing also disappeared.

Following acceptance of many adaptive techniques and resources from western culture, the Kaska became highly dependent upon these innovations. Today river travel without the convenience of an outboard engine is almost unthinkable; sewing is often postponed until a sewing machine can be obtained; hunting is impossible without a gun. This dependence upon recently acquired technical processes complements the previously discussed absence of any idealization of previous patterns of adaptation.

177 In the adjustive sphere of the culture the important introductions of white men included a new language—English—with its system of numeration and of ordering time and
●191 weights; a new religion, Christianity, and a new system of social control.[50] The Kaska were also faced with the necessity of adjusting to a new ethnic group, the whites. While the native language continued to be spoken within the society, other adjustive patterns dropped out, such as belief in many native supernaturals as well as many avoidances and
177 taboos. Shamans ceased to be the curers of the society. Warfare stopped, and people became subject to the system of institutionalized justice introduced by the government. After the arrival of resident Catholic missionaries nuptials began to be celebrated with religious rites and many marriages acquired a legally binding character. In local summer schools, priests started to give Kaska children elementary training in reading and writing; a few older boys and girls were sent to boarding schools located outside of the Cassiar. New patterns of amusement were introduced, including listening to recorded music, face-to-face ballroom
[207] dancing, and poker. More recently the radio has become a popular instrument, while the United States Army permitted a number of young people to see occasional motion pictures.

177 The early traders tried to institute some degree of government among the Indians in
622 order to improve the collection of fur. They appointed "chiefs," whose main duty was to stimulate energetic trapping. To enhance their status, some chiefs received certain distinc-

[50] The French language never developed in the Cassiar as it did in the Mackenzie Basin. Contact with the French was restricted to the eastern fringes of the Kaska. Once the Cassiar was thoroughly penetrated (about 1890), the day of these traders was over and the Hudson's Bay Company was using Englishmen and Scotch representatives. Missionary influence was also late; when the French-Catholic Oblates arrived they readily accepted English as the second language of the people.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Language and Communication

The division of Kaska speech into four mutually intelligible dialects has already been discussed in connection with the tribal differentiation of the Kaska nation. These languages belong to the Athapaskan stock and, like most of the divisions of that group, are tone languages.

In addition to understanding the speech of the members of other Kaska tribes, most people can also manage to understand non-Kaska speakers from surrounding areas who use more distinctive Athapaskan dialects. The mutual intelligibility of the dialects has probably contributed to reducing the need for any marginal language. Some men understand and can speak a little Chinook, but this jargon is never used within the community.

To whites and, to a lesser degree, among themselves, the Kaska speak a variety of English which follows some of the rules of that language but possesses distinctive features of its own. Thus, for example, the feminine gender is usually ignored and the pronouns "he" or "him" are sometimes applied to both sexes and neuter objects. In replying to a question employing the negative, "Yes" is largely used instead of "No." Thus, "You don't know that story?" is answered, "Yes," if the speaker wishes to indicate a lack of knowledge. In speaking English, the sound l is substituted for r by most adults. A few French words have entered the language; *merci* is sometimes used for "thanks" and the adjective *li* is occasionally employed for "the." Several Tlingit words (like *gulšis* for "thank you") are also employed.

While orthography is of minor importance in this monograph, a brief statement of the signs used to represent some sounds occurring in the kinship terminology and elsewhere should be given. The vowels are:

i· as in English *eat*
i as in English *it*
e front unrounded, somewhat like English *let*
æ as in English *hat*

Final vowels usually receive the weak stress found in the last sound of English *sofa*. A dot following other vowels than *i* indicates lengthening; in the case of *i* the dot signifies a high front unrounded vowel. The diphthong aj is pronounced as in English *my*.

Consonants are as in English, with some exceptions. The t is formed with the tongue against the lower teeth and is slightly voiced before most vowels. The dorsal lateral spirant ł is pronounced as in the Welsh. Other consonants include the voiced and voiceless dorsal spirants, γ and x; the glottal stop, ʾ; the voiceless apical slit spirant θ, and the frontal spirants š and ž.

All of the data for the present study were collected in English, and, since some of this data has been published verbatim, some attention may be paid to the English vocabulary of the Kaska. The following list of words and phrases indicate the principal local usages developed for English words.

ANYBODY, *pron.* Everybody, as "anybody eat."
BOSS, *n.* A person who has the right to act upon, order, and care for an object, animal, place, or person, thus, "I'm boss for that woman."

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

BOTHER, *v.t.* To annoy; to approach sexually with or without the object's willingness; to meddle with something; to disturb; to coerce.
BULLSHIT, *n.* Nonsense; a lie.
CAN'T, *id.* Will not; won't; may not; don't want to, as, "I can't do that."
GRUB, *n.* Any food received from white source other than meat.
HE, *pron.* He; she; it.
HIM, *pron.* Him; her; it.
LOTS, *adj.* Many. As, "Lots of people."
MUST BE, *id.* Probably.
NEVER, *adv.* Not for some time, as, "I never hunt"; not ever.
NEWS, *n.* Unfavorable report, as, "to hear his news"; gossip; information.
NOTHING, *n.* Anything; as, "I never see nothing"; no.
PACK, *v.t.* To carry; to load, as, "to pack dogs"; to steal; to carry off.

Obviously all of these as well as all other words carry specific connotations for the Kaska which are sometimes different from their meanings in American speech. Thus a word like "lots," denoting "many," may be used to refer to a group of ten persons with the emotional expression that we would reserve for a mob of hundreds.

Several cases of speech defect were noted. One girl, eight years old, stuttered slightly. A young man was pointed out as speaking little and as being unable to command the communication of sentences of any length. The defect was regarded with amusement and was even joked about in the young man's presence. Cases of deafness and mutism were also reported.[13]

For insults and vituperation, recourse is generally had to English. The use of such terms is stilted, as though there were no clear realization of their meaning. In situations of emotional stress, delivery is more rapid and under such conditions speakers also manifest a tenseness of the body, including the face, which affects the vocal cords.

The Kaska Indians are not a gesticulating people, and the number of socially patterned gestures are relatively limited. Anger is expressed by frowning and by a narrowing of the eyes; shame and embarrassment, by covering the face with the hands and turning away the head. The latter gesture is most common among girls, being rarely used by boys and men. The explanation offered for the gesture was that the feeling of self-consciousness and shame is so intense that the individual does not want others to see her face. Affection, particularly between young people, either of the same or opposite sex, is generally expressed tactually but not by kissing. When the ethnographer's two year old daughter sought to kiss Ann Wiley (6), the latter demurred and cried, "Shame!" When the attempt was repeated, Ann sought to distract the younger girl by calling her attention to something else. Mirth and exuberance (the latter rarely) are released in infectious laughter. Acute hostility may be expressed in refusing to talk to, or look upon, a person, as well as by a sullen, dark facial expression. These are the most common signs used to communicate emotional states, although there are other socially patterned means for the individual to express more personal emotional states. Further discussion of emotional expression is reserved for a later section.

In narration, the hands and arms are sometimes used to aid communication. Thus to de-

[13] See also the discussion of linguistic theory; below, p. 230.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

827 828 201 Frowning is a sign of anger or disapproval. Sneering could not be explained to the informant and, in fact, was not observed among the Kaska.

827 Sneezing and a running nose are generally symptomatic of a cold, although sneezing sometimes indicates that a person will receive good news. The nasal discharge originates between the eyes at the head of the nose. A running nose is preferred to nasal congestion and consequent shortness of breath, which may, it is thought, lead to death.

Among ocular and auricular reactions, weeping is regarded as caused by sadness and depression. Winking is a voluntary response with humorous and sexual overtones. Ringing in the ears constitutes a phenomenon likely to occur when a man is too much alone, but may also be produced by accumulated ear wax. "Seeing stars" may be brought about by excessive heat or a disordered stomach as, for example, a stomach poisoned from bad water.

No ideas of shame or embarrassment are attached to most oral reactions, a person feeling free anywhere to hiccough, yawn, or eat, although most people refrain from spitting on a lumber floor. There is some self-consciousness about coughing in a strange camp, for fear that the owner will consider the response "dirty" or unhygienic. Hiccoughing is the result of an overstuffed stomach, which causes some food to lodge in the esophagus, blocking the passage of wind and causing air to be taken in huge sudden gulps. Hiccoughing is sometimes regarded as an omen of good luck, promising meat or fur. No means is known for relieving this condition. Yawning is a sign of fatigue, but may also be a product of hunger and consequent weakness. It is relieved by a cup of tea. Spitting is regarded as ridding a person of excess mucus secreted by the nose and mouth. Its prevalence has already been discussed. Constriction or irritation of the throat, such as may come from smoking, leads to coughing, although sometimes this reaction originates from a disturbed stomach. Swallowing the "wrong way" is dangerous, because it may result in food being carried into the lungs where it may decay; "pretty soon man die."

[777 787]

827 191 Vocalization, or speech ability, appears when a child becomes half smart. Shortly after birth, however, a mother may wipe her index finger around the baby's mouth to insure that the child will not be mute. As the child grows, he begins to make meaningful sounds and finally, informants said, begins to imitate words uttered by the parents. In this way language is acquired by each successive generation. The people believe their own language easier to learn than English.[7]

827 Digestion is primarily promoted by the stomach grinding up food. The intestines continue the digestive process by further grinding. Illness results if, for any reason, the digestive ability of the stomach become impaired. Digestion renews the blood—"cleans" it. If this

[177 539 191]

[7] A mythological account of the origin of linguistic diversity offered by Nicla is interesting because of the fact that it is almost an exact transcription of the Eleventh Chapter of Genesis. The myth follows: Originally all the people spoke only one language and there were only white people. They piled a great structure up in the air trying to reach the sky. Then the white people went to sleep, planning to finish the tower on the following day and cut through the sky. During the night the poles they had erected collapsed. "They can't make it up there. They make trouble. The pile slide down everything. Tomorrow try we talk this fellow; he can't make understand nothing what you say. Another fellow try. Can't hear nothing. All men different talk." Gradually groups of people withdrew and taught one another the language of one of their members. These groups now began to disperse to different countries and there further developed their languages. At this time too the Crow and Wolf societies developed and the Indians became distinguished from white people.

775
764
533

pushed them out or pointed them to the East, at the same time singing "Yana's. This way is the trail. This way it goes. Don't miss it. The trail goes right to the east where the sun gets up". It is claimed there are four death chants in use. Two of these are said to be very old and the other two not quite so old.

[191]

It may be noted that although the Tahltan claim this song to have originated in the Tahltan country and the air to be purely Tahltan, still they say the words of the song are generally in the Tlingit language; sometimes however Tahltan words with the same meaning are used.

764

The corpse was laid out and wrapped in a skin blanket which was tied in place with ropes encircling the body. Some of the things belonging to the deceased which were to be burned with him were placed near the body.

The corpse was kept in the house for one or two days or occasionally longer. It was taken outside when the pyre was ready and soon afterwards burned. When the body was to be removed, the pole or poles (one or two) used for carrying were passed through the ropes binding the corpse. They were considerably longer than the latter, extending beyond the feet and head. Men held the ends of the pole in front and others the end at the back. A hole was made in the side of the lodge